

21st NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

***Resolutions
and
Proceedings***

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21st NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

RESOLUTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

THE Twenty-First National Congress of the Communist Party was held at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, on November 26, 27 and 28, 1949.

In the absence of Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist Party, the Political Report was read by J. R. Campbell. The Congress was opened by Arthur Horner, and Wm. Gallacher, M.P., made the closing speech. Peter Kerrigan presided.

Harry Pollitt's Political Report is published under the title: *Communist Policy to Meet the Crisis*. Under this title are also included Arthur Horner's Opening Remarks; a speech on Colonial Liberation by John Horner; a speech on the Battle of Ideas by James Gardner; J. R. Campbell's Reply to Discussion; R. P. Dutt's Introduction of the General Election Programme (*The Socialist Road for Britain*) and Wm. Gallacher's Closing Remarks.

GREETINGS TO JOSEPH STALIN

on the occasion of his 70th Birthday

*The following Resolution was passed by Congress after an
introductory speech by Peter Kerrigan*

From this twenty-first Congress of the British Communist Party we send to you, Comrade Stalin, our heartfelt greetings, our warmest love and deep respect.

We look to you, Comrade Stalin, as the companion in arms of the great Lenin, the outstanding assistant of Lenin in building the Bolshevik Party, leader with Lenin of the victorious October Revolution.

It was you who after Lenin's death took his place at the head of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and of the Soviet people, initiated the Stalin Five-Year Plans, guided the Soviet peasants on the road to Socialist agriculture, and smashed the agents of imperialism, the Trotskyites and wreckers. It was you who stood at the head of the heroic Red Army and of the whole Soviet people in breaking the onslaught of fascism and ensuring victory in the great Patriotic War. It is you who today guide the Soviet people on their triumphant march from Socialism to Communism.

Under your leadership the Soviet Union has become the principal champion of world peace, the mighty leader of the camp of peace. It is the Soviet Union, grown strong under your guidance, that has made possible the great victories of the working people in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, and the glorious triumphs of the Chinese Revolution. It is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under your leadership, that heads the forces of the camp of peace in deterring the warmongers and in exposing the treacherous role of their Titoite agents.

We look to you, Comrade Stalin, as the greatest living exponent of Marxist-Leninist theory, the educator of the world proletariat and its allies in a Marxist understanding of the national and colonial question, of the role of the Socialist State, of the strategy and tactics of building Socialism under conditions of capitalist encirclement, of the transition from Socialism to Communism.

In your life you have given the international working-class movement, as Lenin gave it, the supreme example of unswerving devotion to the cause of the proletariat, an example of the complete unity of theory and practice at every step.

From our twenty-first Congress we pledge ourselves to celebrate your seventieth birthday by building the Communist Party in Britain, by a deeper study throughout our Party of Marxist-Leninist theory, and a wider propaganda of this theory in the British working class, which will be unable to carry through its historic mission unless it rids itself of

Social-Democratic ideas and fights under the banner of Marxism-Leninism to end capitalism and establish Socialism.

We pledge ourselves to fight against the war preparations and war propaganda intended to divide the British working class from the Soviet people, and to bring Britain out of the imperialist camp into the camp of peace and democracy, the camp of progressive mankind.

From our Congress we send you our heartfelt wishes that you may enjoy a long and healthy life, guiding the Bolshevik Party, leading the Soviet people to Communist society, and inspiring the whole world working-class movement with the confidence that all obstacles can be overcome and the victory of the working class and of Communism will be won throughout the world.

RESOLUTIONS

STATEMENT OF THE T.U.C. GENERAL COUNCIL

The statement issued by the General Council of the T.U.C. on November 23 is a betrayal of the interests of the working-class movement.

Formerly the wage-freeze policy was put forward as conditional on reductions in prices and profits. Now even this face-saving phrase is abandoned, and the workers are asked to refrain from wage demands and suspend the cost-of-living sliding-scale agreements, while prices and profits continue to rise.

This policy, coming after devaluation and the cuts in subsidies announced in October, will lead to reductions in real wages. The T.U.C. statement is issued at the very time when millions of workers are demanding wage increases, and is intended to prevent those demands from being successful.

It is a surrender to the employers, the Tories, the Government and Wall Street, and an effort to put the burdens of the capitalist crisis on the working people. Unless this policy is fought and defeated by the workers, it will speed up the slump and the development of mass unemployment.

It is necessary to direct the attention of the whole Trade Union movement to the efforts being made by the General Council to try to compel the adoption of this policy, and thus restrict the unions in the carrying out of their historic functions in defence of their members' interests.

Congress pledges itself to fight against this policy, and calls on the organised Labour movement to fight for its rejection and vigorously campaign for increased wages for the workers at the expense of the employers.

STEEL

Congress strongly condemns the retreat of the Government on the Steel Bill as a complete surrender to the steel bosses, the Tories, and Wall Street. This sell-out was not due to the resistance of the House of Lords,

since the Parliament Bill, according to the Government itself, was introduced to deal with the Lords opposition.

It is a deliberate and voluntary sell-out, and a betrayal of the definite pledges previously made by the Government.

The Steel Bill itself, which has now in practice been abandoned, is a glaring example of co-operation between the State and monopoly interests, even going to the extent of allowing individual firms to maintain their identity, directors and staff.

The whole Labour movement should therefore fight not merely against the abandonment of the Steel Bill, but for a completely new form of nationalisation of the steel industry, based on the following principles:

(1) Nationalisation of the whole iron and steel industry and associated productions.

(2) Compensation to be drastically cut in the case of large shareholders, and any compensation paid to be paid out by instalments over a period of years without any interest.

(3) The National and Regional Boards to be made up of workers and technicians, and representatives of the unions catering for the industry, who believe in Socialism and can be trusted by the people.

(4) The right of the workers to direct negotiations with the Board at all levels, both on questions of wages and conditions and on the running of the industry.

Nationalisation must be accompanied by measures to improve the conditions of the workers, including a maximum working week of forty-two hours, a weekly minimum wage of £6 10s. and fourteen days' annual holiday with pay, guarantees against unemployment, and modern welfare and canteen facilities.

ATTACKS ON FREE SPEECH

Congress draws the attention of the Labour movement to the increasing number of attacks on free speech being made, particularly through the banning of the use of public and private halls and traditional meeting places to the Communist Party and other working-class organisations.

Such bans are an attempt to take away rights won by generations of working-class struggle, and if not resisted and overcome, will lead to further interference with the expression of working-class opinion.

We call on all organisations of the Labour movement to defeat these attempts to curtail free speech and assembly, and defend and extend the democratic rights of the workers.

FASCISM IN BRITAIN

The toleration of fascist organisations and activities and anti-Semitic and other racial propaganda by the Labour Government is an insult to those who fought and died in the Second World War and a serious menace to the working-class movement.

The Government, by its toleration of such fascist activities, is in fact encouraging their growth. At the same time it restricts working-class rights, such as the long-cherished right to march in London, on the pretext that fascists might create disturbances.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, increasing efforts will be made by reaction in Britain to divert the movement against capitalism by the spread of fascist and anti-Semitic and racial propaganda.

We therefore demand full freedom for working-class marches and demonstrations, and the immediate banning of all fascist organisations and publications, and all fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda and other racial propaganda.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

The twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party expresses its sympathy with the millions of old age pensioners in the country who have had to bear the new burdens due to the rise in prices and the cost of living.

We demand that the Government grants an immediate increase in the old age pension of £2 per week for each pensioner, without reductions for married couples.

We declare our support for the campaign of the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners' Associations, and call upon all members of the Labour and Trade Union movement to give it their active support.

NIGERIA

Congress expresses the horror and indignation felt by British workers at the brutal murder of coalminers striking for a living wage in Enugu, Nigeria. Such acts of terror are a denial of all the principles for which the British Labour movement stands. Congress calls on the Colonial Secretary to dismiss immediately the Governor and the Chief of Police, to instruct the Nigerian Government, who own the mines, to grant the wage claim for 5s. 10d. per day at once, as a preliminary to further increases, to reinstate all men dismissed during the strike or the events which led up to it, and to pay adequate compensation without delay to the wounded and the dependants of the killed.

Congress further affirms that the future peace and prosperity of both Britain and Nigeria demand that the Nigerian people should control their own economy through their own independent and democratically elected Government. It calls for the removal of all British troops, the repeal of all anti-democratic and anti-working-class legislation and the holding of elections based on universal suffrage to elect a Nigerian constituent assembly which shall take full control of all internal and external affairs within a stated number of months. Congress reaffirms its solidarity with the Nigerian people living under British imperialist oppression and pledges its full support for every struggle by the people of Nigeria to improve their conditions and to win their freedom and independence.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Congress sends fraternal greetings to the Communists of Yugoslavia who, despite the unheard-of methods of terror employed against them, remain faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and are

striving to end the domination of the present Tito regime of agents of American imperialism and bring back Yugoslavia to the road of Socialism and friendly association with the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

The regime of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovic now stands exposed as a grouping linked up with the Secret Intelligence Services of Western imperialism over a number of years.

American imperialist support for Tito has been openly shown with dollar loans, provision of planes, petrol and steel, and diplomatic support to place Yugoslavia on the Security Council of the United Nations by the vote of the most corrupt American satellites.

American imperialism seeks to make Yugoslavia a principal war base for its offensive war plans against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. In return for American imperialist support the Tito clique is selling out the resources of Yugoslavia and making it an American colony. In order to enforce this policy a regime of terror and destruction against the active working-class movement is maintained in Yugoslavia.

The Tito clique has shamefully betrayed not only the Yugoslav people, but the heroic liberation struggle of the Greek people by its collaboration with the Greek-Monarcho-Fascist-Government, whose Vice-Premier has publicly sung the praises of Tito for his assistance against the Greek democratic forces.

The Tito clique, in its campaign of war provocation in the service of its imperialist masters, repeats the most shameless reactionary propaganda of the type used by Goebbels and the Trotskyists against the Soviet Union and against the international Communist movement. Titoism has now become one of the principal channels of Western imperialism's anti-Soviet war propaganda.

Like Trotskyism, from which it is directly derived, Titoism seeks to organise disruption in the international working-class movement. Titoism is supported and publicised by reaction in all countries, including Britain, in order to confuse, penetrate and disrupt the working-class movement and progressive sections of opinion.

Congress declares that practical conclusions must be drawn and acted on by the Party:

- (1) To spread understanding throughout the working class of the real role of the Tito clique as agents of the war plans of American imperialism, and to expose all the lying propaganda which seeks to camouflage Titoism as a supposed dissident "Communist" or "Socialist" viewpoint
- (2) To strengthen the vigilance against the penetration of enemy agents into the Party or into the working-class movement, and to combat all attempts at Titoist disruption.
- (3) To strengthen the understanding of the vanguard role of the Socialist Soviet Union as the powerful bulwark and champion of peace, democracy and Socialism in the common cause of the working class and peoples of the whole world, and to strengthen in every way the friendship and unity of the working class and peoples of all countries with the Socialist Soviet Union as the indispensable basis for combating the warmongers and ensuring the victory of peace and Socialism.

In Memoriam

GEORGE DIMITROV

The following tribute was read by R. Stewart

The sad task falls to our twenty-first Congress to record the very great loss which the world Communist movement has sustained in the death on July 2 of this year, at the age of 67, of that world-renowned revolutionary fighter, George Dimitrov.

The life and work of this devoted son of the Bulgarian people will for long remain a shining example to the whole movement for the emancipation of humanity from the poverty, misery, war, disaster, and death, which are the main fruits of capitalism in its decadence.

To the members of our Party, and Communists of all lands, his life holds great significance, because he was above all a great Party leader, schooled and steeled in the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, who embodied in himself the finest fighting and human traditions of the long-oppressed but ever-fighting Bulgarian people.

We recall with pride the magnificent contribution to the exposure of fascism made by Dimitrov when defending the vital essence of his life and work for Communism in the Reichstag Trial, which set a standard of conduct which is still a model for Communists on trial.

Neither manacle nor muzzle could tame the heroic defence which he made of the Communist International and its leading role in the fight for human emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

Facing the combined opposition of judges and prosecution, and the whole might of the Nazi terror, he compelled the entire political world to hear and speak of him as the accuser, not the accused.

He defended not only himself and his fellow accused, but refuted with scorn and indignation the false and slighting insults to his beloved Bulgarian country and people.

By his skill, knowledge and courage throughout his imprisonment and trial, Dimitrov aroused millions of progressive people all over the world to rally to his defence and to the fight against the Nazi instruments of monopoly capitalism.

Acquitted by the Nazi Court, his tormenters still held him captive, until the intervention of the U.S.S.R. opened the prison gates and set him free as a Soviet citizen to return to his beloved Moscow.

His promotion to the position of the Secretary of the Communist International gave the world proletariat his vital political leadership. His contribution to the shaping of policy at the Seventh World Congress stands out as a masterpiece of political thought, strategy and tactics which have been tested and justified by the events which followed that historic event.

The sweeping victories of the Red Army and the heroic resistance to the Nazis of all the finest elements of his people brought George Dimitrov

home in triumph to his own country, where he faced with fortitude and great political insight the tasks of reconstruction and social transformation. He founded and guided the Fatherland Front, which, led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, united the progressive forces of Bulgaria, consolidated their victory and set the feet of his people on the path to Socialism. He taught the Bulgarian people what every Socialist needs to be convinced of, that "the friendship of our people with the Soviet Union is as necessary for us as the sunshine and air for every living creature."

Like Lenin and Stalin he had unbounded conviction in the invincibility of Marxism and a firm faith in the proletariat, of whom he said:

"... We Communists bear responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the Labour movement, responsibility for the fate of our own nation, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

"To us, the workers, and not the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary* rulers.

"The proletariat is the *real master*, tomorrow's *master of the world*. And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country all over the world."

(Speech at close of Seventh Congress of Communist International,
August 20, 1935.)

This Congress makes the solemn pledge to cherish and be true to the memory of George Dimitrov:

By its devotion to the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which fortified Dimitrov throughout a life of struggle for his class and the liberation of his beloved Bulgaria.

By increasing efforts to build our Party with its base in the factories.

By special attention to training ever more skilled cadres for leadership of the British working class in the spirit of Comrade Dimitrov.

By the mobilisation into an indestructible front of all opponents of war who are willing to fight for peace.

By its defence of the national independence of Britain and all that is of value in our national heritage.

By its fight for the liberation of the colonial peoples from imperialist exploitation.

"The wheel of history turns, moves forward, toward a Soviet Europe, towards the world union of Soviet Republics. . . .

"It is turning and it will turn until the final victory of Communism."

FRATERNAL MESSAGES

The following message was received from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of Britain.

In the present international situation, responsible tasks fall to the lot of the British working class and its advanced detachment, the Communist Party, in the fight of the progressive forces for peace and democracy against the instigators of a new war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses its firm confidence that the Communist Party of Britain, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, and having further strengthened and consolidated its ranks, will fulfil with honour the historic role of leader of the British workers in the fight for the vital interests of the working people of Britain, for peace, and for the international unity of the working class against the aggressive plans of imperialist reaction.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wishes the Communist Party of Britain success in all its activity.

(Signed): Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the U.S.S.R.

In addition to the messages and greetings brought in person by fraternal delegates, messages were also received from the Communist and Workers' Parties of Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Cyprus, Finland, the Free Territory of Trieste, Germany, India, Israel, New Zealand, Rumania, South Africa, U.S.A.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The following delegates brought greetings from their Communist Parties:

BELGIUM—Gerard Van Moerkerke.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—Prof. V. Prochazka,

Vice-Chairman, National Assembly.

Vroclaw David,

Vice-Chairman, National Assembly.

DENMARK—Borge Houman, Editor, *Land og Folk*.

FRANCE—Joanny Berlioz, M.P.

GERMANY—Max Reimann, M.P., Secretary of German Communist
Party.

Willi Agatz, M.P.

HOLLAND—F. Baruch, Executive Committee of Dutch Communist
Party.

N. Van der Drift, Executive Committee of Dutch Com-
munist Party.

ITALY—Senator Celeste Negarville.

N. IRELAND—Jim Graham.

Sean Murray.

SPAIN—Vicente Uribe.

CREDENTIALS REPORT

NUMBER OF DELEGATES

Full, 359; Consultative, 46; Total: 405

COMPOSITION:

Men, 346; Women, 59

AGE GROUPS:

Aged 20-25	..	..	29	Aged 41-50	..	..	90
„ 26-30	..	..	108	Over 50	..	..	12
„ 31-40	..	..	166				

LENGTH OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP:

Under 1 year	..	..	7	8-10	..	..	83
1 year	..	..	29	11-15	..	..	101
2 years	..	..	19	16-20	..	..	29
3 years	..	..	26	Over 20 years	..	..	31
4-7 years	..	..	80	Foundation	..	..	10

DUES POSITION:

Paid up and in Advance	397	Four weeks	..	..	1
Up to four weeks	..	No card	..	..	1

PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES:

National Committees, excluding old E.C.	..	14
District Secretaries	..	10
District Committees—other than Secretaries	..	125
Area or City Committees—Secretaries	..	2
Area or City Committees—other than Secretaries	..	59
Borough Secretaries	..	33
City and Borough—other than Secretaries	..	44
Branch Secretaries	..	83
Branch Committees—other than Secretaries	..	69
Parliamentary Prospective Candidates	..	45
Parliamentary Prospective Agents	..	10
Councillors	..	4

OCCUPATION:

Engineering	..	..	82	Chemical	..	..	5
Building	..	..	32	Agriculture	..	..	3
Clerical	..	..	24	Steel and Tin	..	..	3
Rails	..	..	18	Furnishing	..	..	3
Mining	..	..	17	Postal	..	..	3
Teachers	..	..	14	Boot and Shoe	..	..	2
Transport	..	..	12	Draughtsmen	..	..	2
Clothing	..	..	9	Civil Service	..	..	1
Electrical	..	..	8	Pottery	..	..	1
Docks and Sea	..	..	6	Vehicle Building	..	..	3
Textiles	..	..	6	Bakery	..	..	1
Print	..	..	6	Self-employed	..	..	3
Distribution	..	..	6	Sundry Trades	..	..	11
Shipbuilding & Repair	..	..	5	Housewives	..	..	27

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP:

A.E.U. ..	85	Weavers ..	6	Lightermen ..	2
C.A.W.U. ..	39	N.U.G.M.W. ..	5	N.F.B.T.O.(Comp)	2
T.&G.W.U. ..	35	A.S.L.E.F. ..	5	B.I.S.A.K.T.A. ..	2
N.U.M. ..	18	N.U.V.B. ..	5	N.S.P. ..	2
U.S.D.A.W. ..	18	N.A.L.G.O. ..	4	Plumbers ..	2
N.U.R. ..	15	N.A.T.S.O.P.A. ..	3	Heat & Dom. ..	2
N.U.T. ..	13	A.S.S.E.T. ..	3	N.U.P.B. & W. ..	2
E.T.U. ..	13	Boot & Shoe ..	3	C.E.U. ..	2
A.U.B.T.W. ..	12	N.U.A.W. ..	3	N.U.J. ..	2
A.S.W. ..	11	N.U.F.T.O. ..	3	G.I.O. ..	2
N.U.T.&G.W. ..	10	A.B.T. ..	3	C.O.H.S.E. ..	1
S.M.W. ..	8	P.O.E.U. ..	2	Scot. Eng. & F. ..	1
A.Sc.W. ..	8	C.S.C.A. ..	2	I.R.S.F. ..	1
Boilermakers ..	7	I.A.A.M. ..	1	Bakers ..	1
Foundry ..	1	U.P.W. ..	1	N.U.S. ..	1
C.S.U. ..	1	Smithy ..	1	M.U. ..	1
Typ. Association	1	L.C.C. Staffs ..	1		
A.E.S.D. ..	6				

TRADE UNION MEMBERS 378

CO-OPERATIVE 341

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

S. ABBOTT	W. GALLACHER	BETTY MATTHEWS
W. ALEXANDER	J. GARDNER	G. MATTHEWS
G. ALLISON	G. C. T. GILES	A. MOFFATT
M. BENNETT	J. GOLLAN	A. F. PAPWORTH
ELINOR BURNS	F. HART	W. PAYNTER
EMILE BURNS	F. HAXELL	P. PIRATIN
J. R. CAMPBELL	J. HORNER	H. POLLITT
I. COX	A. HORNER	MURIEL RAYMENT
FRANCES. DEAN	D. KELLY	TAMARA RUST
E. DICKENS	P. KERRIGAN	J. R. SCOTT
R. P. DUTT	W. LAUCLAN	G. THOMSON
L. ELLIS	L. MCGREE	

- APPEALS COMMITTEE

The following were elected:

MARGARET AIREY	R. McILHONE
M. CUNNICK	R. W. ROBSON
J. GASTER	G. SHORT
R. STEWART	

AUDITORS

L. S. DUNSTAN and W. HOLMES were elected

INCOME

EXPENDITURE

Report of the Auditors.

L. DUNSTAN }
WALTER HOLMES } Auditors.

**REPORT OF THE 21st NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

***Communist Policy
to meet the Crisis***

Harry Pollitt's Political Report ; Speeches on
Colonial Liberation and the Battle of Ideas ;
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